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ABSTRACT

Articles and activities written for the senior secondary level explore the complex links between militarization and underdevelopment. The articles discuss choices between missiles and food in developing countries, the internal and external causes of militarism. and the hidden costs of militarism. Case studies of the Kwajalein Atoll and Ethiopia look at the effects of militarism on two societies. Four activities provide further investigation of militarism and development. A class simulation offers an opportunity to analyze the case of the Philippines. A list of 25 audio-visual and print resources and organization with resources on militarism and development provides further information. (CK)

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Militarism Versus Development

Teaching Global Issues Teachergram Volume, 2 Number 2 Fall 1988

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teaching global issues

Teachergram

Vol. 2, No. 2 Fall 1988

Militarism versus Development

To the teacher

In 1987, global military expenditures reached a new high point of $946 billion dollars, or $1.8 million per minute. Third World military spending accounted for almost twenty percent of this spending, up from a relatively modest figure of seven percent in 1960.

Parallel to these astronomical expenditures runs a long list of unmet human needs. 1.5 billion people have no effective medical care, 500 million are severely malnourished, and 600 million are illiterate.

What is the relationship between these two sets of figures? This issue of Teachergram focuses on the complex links between militarization and underdevelopment. To increase their usability, the articles and activities are written at a level appropriate for senior secondary students.

The world now spends $1.8 million U.S. dollars per minute on military expenditures. During the same minute, 30 children die of hunger or hunger-related diseases, and another 30 are permanently disabled by a preventable disease, such as measles or polio.

Missiles for meals

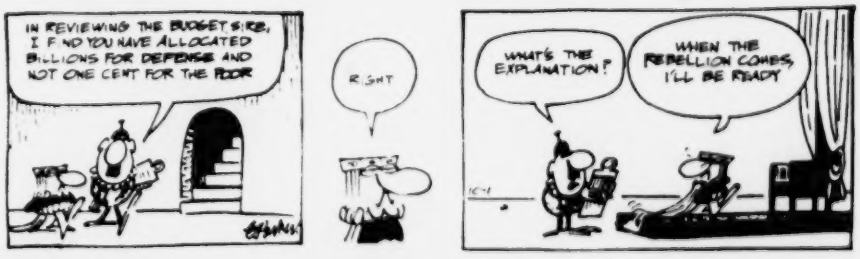
The Face of Militarism

Halifax, June 1985. 350 women from across Canada are discussing the problem of escalating nuclear armaments—their fears for the planet, themselves, their families. A woman rises from the audience to stand in front of the microphone. She is Carmen, from Chile. She has come to the conference at considerable personal danger; she must return to a country run by one of the world's most oppressive military dictatorships, where the government response to criticism is often imprisonment and torture. What Carmen says to the Canadian women is this:

"I wish that in my country we had the *luxury* of worrying about the nuclear bomb. In Santiago, where I live, we are too busy worrying about how we can feed our families for the next day, to be able to spend much time worrying about whether someone will drop a nuclear bomb on us."

In today's world, the promise held out by many governments and military planners is that increased buying of arms leads to greater security. Carmen, like many of the world's people, lives in a country where increased spending on arms has led, for the majority of the population, to greater insecurity. Chile's generals have abandoned social programs designed to provide food, education and health, in favour of a system which favours a small elite of company heads and landowners. In doing this, they entered into a classic cycle of militarization and underdevelopment (see Figure 1). The wealth of the few must be protected from the grasp of the poor; therefore, large expenditures are required for the purchase of arms and the hiring of military forces. In order to buy these arms (and also other foreign luxuries for the upper class), foreign debts are incurred. These debts can only be repaid by increasing the amount of land and other resources used for export; therefore there are fewer resources available for the people of the country. They become increasingly rebellious, as they see their children die of

continued on page 3


IN REVIEWING THE BUDGET SIR, I FIND YOU HAVE ALLOCATED BILLIONS FOR DEFENSE AND NOT ONE CENT FOR THE POOR
R.GHT
WHAT'S THE EXPLANATION?
WHEN THE REBELLION COMES, I'LL BE READY

Reprinted with special permission of Johnny Hart and NAS, INC.

Why Militarism?

The Causes

What are the reasons behind the rush towards the military solution? Why are the developing countries so ready to spend desperately-needed funds on arms, and the superpowers equally eager to supply them? The tensions and imbalances which start the spiral of militarization and underdevelopment, or continue to fuel its progress, are sometimes caused by forces within the country affected, and sometimes by those outside it.

Internal Causes:

Colonialism

Between 1945 and 1980, 114 developing countries gained independence from their colonial masters. What did they inherit? Often, civilian governments were weak and untrained, strong political institutions were lacking, and the people had high expectations of immediate improvement in living conditions. The standing armies left behind by the colonial powers, however, were strong. This combination of conditions proved ideal for military take-over. Ruth Sivard, a major chronicler of military and social expenditures, reports that in 1987, 52 percent of developing countries were under military control (up from 26 percent in 1960).

Internal Conflicts

Conflict with neighbouring countries is responsible for some increase in military expenditure; however, increased militarization is often a way of responding to tensions existing *within* a country. The colonial powers, when carving up the Third World, particularly Africa, didn't consider the existing geographic regions or tribal affiliations of the people living there. This recipe for internal conflict has been the cause of numerous wars, such as the Nigerian civil war in the late 1960's.

Another major cause of conflict is the enormous disparity of wealth in many developing countries. In El Salvador, for instance, 80 percent of the land is owned by two percent of the population, while huge numbers of people exist in landless poverty. Militarism is often a tool to keep small, wealthy elites in power.

External Causes:

Often, conflicts which start out on a regional scale are maintained and expanded through the involvement of larger powers, and the internal organization of developing countries is decided, not by the citizens themselves, but as part of the strategic planning of powerful nations.

Strategic and Political Interests

How to buy friends and influence countries

Oil and "strategic minerals" (minerals such as bauxite, manganese, and platinum, which are important to the manufacture of arms and civilian goods) are all produced in the developing world, and required by the developed world. What better way to maintain friendly relations, and a guaranteed supply, than to maintain a supply of weapons to those in power in those countries? This helps explain why, between 1975 and 1980, thirteen OPEC countries accounted for over 40 percent of the arms imports of all the developing countries, and why, in Africa, eight of the ten highest military spenders are also major mineral exporters.

The two superpowers also attempt to maintain spheres of influence, in which the values of capitalism (in the case of the U.S.) or communism (in the Soviet sphere) are maintained. The maintaining of this influence involves not only arms transfers, but also the training of military personnel. The Soviet Union is estimated to have trained almost 70,000 Third World military personnel between 1955 and 1985, most from Africa and the Middle East. The U.S., between 1950 and 1986, trained over 450,000 personnel from developing countries, most of them from the Far East and Latin America.

In addition, the superpowers maintain a large military presence by establishing bases and sending personnel to strategic third world areas. Currently, 91 countries have foreign military forces operating on their soil. Ruth Sivard estimates that, for every four servicemen which they have stationed at home, the superpowers have one stationed abroad.

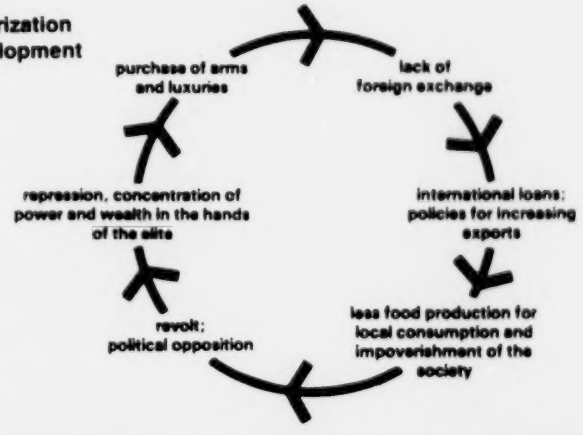
The arming and training of Third World allies, along with the stationing of foreign troops on their soil, has meant that the developing world is increasingly seen as a cold war battleground, and that the root causes of conflict—inadequate basic necessities, desire for social change—are often ignored.

The Arms Trade

Making a killing from the Third World

Since 1980, the annual average spending on arms imports has been $36 billion per year. In recent years, 75 percent of this money has been spent by Third World countries. The U.S., France, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union have all built up lucrative arms-export industries, which bring them welcome foreign exchange. Canada is increasingly involved in promoting military exports, currently exporting almost 5 percent of the world's total. In 1985, Canada sold $104.5 million in arms to the Third World; in 1986 the figure hit $244.8 million, a 130 percent increase. (This is apart from those components sent to the United States which subsequently go to the Third World; this has been estimated at an additional $160 million.) In times of high unemployment like the present, exports of any kind, even arms exports, are encouraged by governments.

Figure 1: Militarization and Underdevelopment


purchase of arms and luxuries
lack of foreign exchange
international loans; policies for increasing exports
less food production for local consumption and impoverishment of the society
revolt; political opposition
repression, concentration of power and wealth in the hands of the elite

(Credit: Bombs for Breakfast, published by the Committee on Poverty & the Arms Trade, London.)

Militarism: The Hidden Costs

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children . . ."
- President Dwight D. Eisenhower

When we talk about "costs" of militarism, usually we think first of the financial costs, money which is diverted from human needs such as food, shelter, health and education. Analysts point out that the eradication of malaria, a scourge to many developing countries, would cost $450 million, the equivalent to half of what is spent each day for military purposes. While money is an important factor, there are other more hidden costs which are linked to militarization.

Human and Natural Resources:

Human Resources: 45 million people spend their lives as military employees, preparing for war. 20 percent of all the world's scientists and engineers are engaged in military research and development. Of all the money spent globally on research and development, 25 percent goes to military research.

Raw materials: Military consumption accounts for 5 to 6 percent of world consumption of petroleum (almost half of what all the developing countries, excluding China, consume); 11 percent of copper; 8 percent of lead; 6 percent of aluminum, nickel, silver, zinc and platinum.

Land: Although the amount of land used by the military is small (.3 to .5 percent), it can sometimes cause major regional problems, such as in Singapore, where 10 percent of a 226 square mile island is used for military purposes, or Kwajalein Atoll (see Case Study I, p. 4), where people have been moved off scarce agricultural land.

Unemployment

The world's working-age population is increasing at the rate of 60 million per year. Unemployment, currently averaging over 8% in the developed world, has grown substantially since 1970; in the Third World, unemployment is increasing at twice the rate of the developed world. While military expansion is often offered by governments as a good way to increase employment, in reality, military spending produces fewer jobs than civilian spending. A 1985 study by the Canadian Union of Public Employees showed that the Canadian Department of National Defence in 1983-84 created 146,641 jobs. Had the same amount of money been spent by Canadian consumers on housing, food, clothing, education and other needs, 257,844 jobs would have been created. In other words, civilian jobs are generally more labour-intensive than are military jobs.

Debt

The total debt owed to the developed world by the Third World now totals $1 trillion. Arms imports account for 25 percent of this debt. Unlike imports of farm machinery, fertilizers, or medicines, military imports don't earn any income to help pay the debt; they are either used up or become obsolete.

Export-Oriented Economies

In order to earn foreign exchange with which to pay debts, developing countries increase their "cash crops"—crops which are grown for export rather than to feed local people. This often leads to malnourishment within the country itself, to displacement of peasants by large agribusinesses, and to a mechanized style of farming which relies heavily on expensive fertilizers and pesticides. The winners in this system are the owners of large plantations and companies; the losers are the malnourished, landless peasants.

And more...

- repression of human rights
- the 20 million people killed (and many more injured) in wars since 1945
- the 8 million refugees who have fled their homes because of militarism
- the enormous amount of environmental damage caused by chemical weapons and military maneuvers

Sources:

Much of the information and analysis above was drawn from *Missiles and Malnutrition: The Links Between Militarization and Underdevelopment*, by Esther Epp-Tiessen (Ploughshares Working Paper 87-2, Waterloo, 1987) and *World Military and Social Expenditures 1987-88*, by Ruth Sivard (Washington: World Priorities, 1987)

Missiles for Meals

continued from page 1

hunger while land which could be used to grow domestic crops instead produces seasonal fruits, vegetables and flowers for rich, first-world buyers. Government response to this rebellion is to buy even more arms, and the cycle goes on, increasing in intensity and brutality.

A nation like Chile, which combines high military spending, the use of organized force to secure compliance of its people, and a high degree of government control by military forces, can be referred to as "militarized". The increasing level of militarism in the developing world is causing a parallel increase in concern amongst people committed to improving the lives of the world's poor. It is becoming increasingly evident that militarism is a primary obstacle to development.

Arms

You have a gun
And I am hungry

You have a gun
Because I am hungry

You have a gun
Therefore I am hungry

You can have a gun
You can have a thousand bullets
and even another thousand
You can waste them all on my poor
body,
You can kill me, one, two, three
...2,000; 7,000 times
But in the long run

I will always be better armed than you
If you have a gun
and I
only hunger.

- by M.J. Arce from Guatemala

(from "Guatemala", published by North American Congress on Latin America)

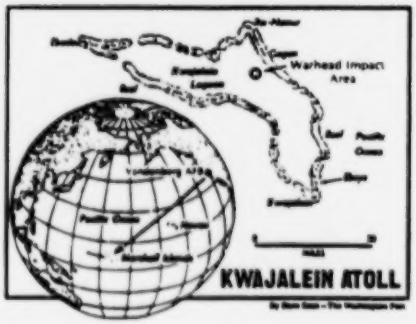
Case Study I: The Kwajalein Atoll

An atoll in the South Pacific.

The phrase conjures up images of surf and palm trees, brown islanders fishing in blue lagoons, a necklace of coral in a crystal sea. Kwajalein Atoll consists of 93 islands, in a necklace formation, surrounded by other atolls and islands of the Marshall Island group, which, in turn, are part of the scattering of South Pacific islands known as Micronesia. Zoom in on Kwajalein Island, the largest island, in the southern part of Kwajalein Atoll, and this is what you will see: an enormous missile range, employing 3,000 Americans, plus all the infrastructure necessary to maintain them—spacious houses, stores, banks, a modern hospital, schools, swimming pools, a golf course. Move your sights over a little, to the little island just three miles away, and the scene is quite different. Eight thousand Marshall Islanders crowd into a 78-acre area, the equivalent of four city blocks (possibly the most densely-populated area in the world). There is sub-standard sanitation, electricity which works part of the time, and a small, poorly-equipped hospital. There is no public secondary school, no trees or play areas. This is Ebeye, described by United Nations officials as "the slum of the Pacific."

Who are these people, crammed together in the squalor of this tiny island of Ebeye, and how did they get here? Until World War II, the people of Kwajalein Atoll lived by fishing the lagoons and cultivating the soil on their string of small islands. That changed in the war, when the islands of Micronesia became a strategic battleground where Americans fought Japanese, and 5,000 Micronesians were killed in a war which was not theirs.

After World War II, the islanders found that their islands had been identified as essential strategic territory. Micronesia became a "strategic trust" of the United States. Part of the "trust" agreement stipulated that there would be "no limitation placed upon the utilization of all or any part of the area for U.S. security purposes"; in return, the U.S. promised to "promote the economic advancement and self-sufficiency of the inhabitants...protect the inhabitants against the loss of their lands and resources..." and encourage education,



development, and independent self-government.

The U.S. navy brought in several hundred people from other islands to construct navy facilities on Kwajalein Island, which was to become a vital refueling base during the nuclear testing which took place between 1946 and 1958 in other parts of Micronesia. In 1951, the Navy decided that these labourers, along with the original inhabitants of Kwajalein Island, were in the way. They moved them to nearby Ebeye Island. When the nuclear testing ended, a new use was found for Kwajalein. It was chosen as the target site for inter-continental ballistic missiles launched from California, 4,200 miles away. An island in the northern part of the atoll, Roi-Namur, was required as a monitoring station for incoming missiles, and in 1960, people were removed from this island, many of them going to Ebeye. In 1961, Lib Island, near Kwajalein, was designated as an "impact zone" for incoming rockets; the Lib islanders were moved to...guess where!...Ebeye. In 1964, the Army, who had by this time taken over from the navy, selected two-thirds of the central lagoon as a prime target area. The several hundred people who were living in islands in this area were moved to Ebeye.

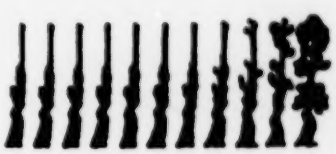
Some of these landowners, who were moved off their islands, were given small amounts of compensation for their land ($25 per month was the maximum), but many received no compensation. Because fishing, due to security reasons, is prohibited in large areas of their waters, and their agricultural land has been taken, they are reduced to lives of dependency, eking out a living from their tiny compensation payments, or menial jobs at the Kwajalein Missile Range.

Three miles away, on the largest island of their atoll, is a secondary school and an excellent hospital, both off limits to Ebeye residents. In order to go to the island of Kwajalein (to go to the bank, for instance) they are required to have a special pass, and to be off the island by nightfall.

The response of the Ebeye people has been one of patience, negotiation, and, when those approaches failed, of protest. From 1969 to 1982, the landowners have engaged in a series of demonstrations in which they have set up camps on some of the "off-limits" islands, and areas of Kwajalein Island itself. The culminating protest, in 1982, involved the return of 1,000 islanders to their islands for a period of four months. "Operation Homecoming", as it was called, was the first time that many of the young islanders had been off the tiny, crowded island of Ebeye. Because the Kwajalein Missile base is so important to U.S. military interests, the islanders, through their protests, finally received more adequate compensation for their lands. A $10 million fund was established for improvement of conditions at Ebeye. Restrictions were lifted from six nearby islands, and the people were allowed to return to their home islands for three six-week periods each year.

A whole generation of islanders has grown up on Ebeye without learning the traditional farming and fishing skills of their culture. Accustomed to a diet of pop, ice cream, beer and cigarettes, along with a daily intake of television beamed in from the U.S., they see their only hope as getting a job at the Missile Range. There is also a strong movement of islanders who do not want their atoll to be used for nuclear arms development. What kind of future is there for these people, whose developmental progress has been twisted from its natural course by foreign intervention? Some landowners hope for a compromise, in which Kwajalein becomes a non-nuclear, conventional military installation, which would provide some economic aid and jobs, and at the same time allow the people of Kwajalein Atoll once again to use their vast lagoon and live and grow food on their many islands.

- Information from *Collision Course at Kwajalein*, Giff Johnson, Hawaii, 1984



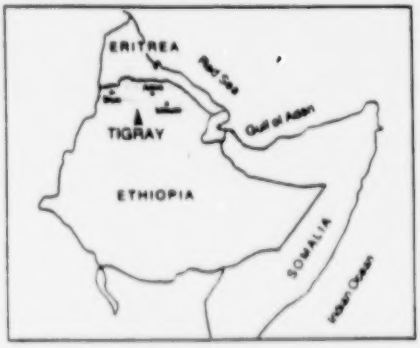
Case Study II: **Ethiopia**

When you hear the word "Ethiopia", what do you think of? Tiny, shriveled children, staring despairingly from the television screen, row upon row of tents filled with hapless refugees, parched earth: in a word, you probably think of famine. The famine in Ethiopia is caused, not just by drought, but by militarism.

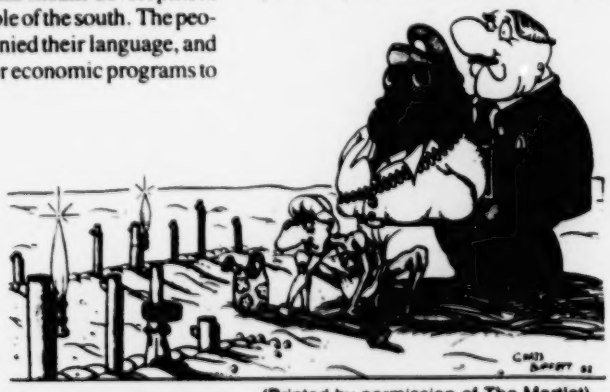
Ethiopia has the largest standing army in Africa—currently over 300,000 men. In 1977, it used this army in a border war against Somalia. The major battlegrounds, however, are within Ethiopia itself, in the northern regions of Eritrea and Tigray. The war against Eritrea has been going on since 1962; the Tigrayan civil war began with an uprising in 1943, although the current conflict can be dated from 1975.

Why these civil wars? Ethiopia, like many African countries, is a collection of peoples, with separate languages, cultures and histories. Eritrea, which is strategically located on the Red Sea, was colonized by the Italians, and then by the British, and thus developed differently from Ethiopia, which, under Emperor Haile Selassie, was organized into a repressive feudal state. In 1950, a United Nations vote allowed Eritrea some autonomous powers, but federated it with Ethiopia. Discontent grew, as Haile Selassie banned the local languages, and dismantled Eritrean factories in order to promote industrialization in the south. In 1962 Ethiopia annexed Eritrea, declaring it the fourteenth province of Ethiopia. Since then, a resistance army has waged continuing war against the Ethiopian government forces. The Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) claims to control 80% of the Eritrean countryside, and has carried out land redistribution, health and education programs within this area.

Tigray's discontent springs from a perception that, since the late 1800's, "development" in Ethiopia has meant development for the Amharic people of the south. The people of Tigray were denied their language, and received few social or economic programs to improve their meagre living standards. The Tigrayan People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which was formed in response to these conditions, now controls 85% of the Tigrayan countryside.



The Ethiopian government and its supporters have changed during these long conflicts. In 1974, Ethiopians revolted against their Emperor, Haile Selassie, and, because political parties had not been able to develop and strengthen under his long feudal reign, the military stepped in. By 1977, Mengistu Haile Mariam had emerged as the unopposed leader of Ethiopia. He set about clearing out opposition to his reign; by the end of 1978, he had imprisoned 30,000 and killed as many as 5,000 people, including political and union leaders. Because of these human rights violations, the United States, which until then had been a major economic and military supporter of Ethiopia, withdrew, and was replaced by the U.S.S.R. For the people of Eritrea and Tigray, it doesn't make much difference if the weapons come from the U.S. or the U.S.S.R.; the long, weary war continues to take its toll.



(Printed by permission of The Martlet)

The costs are enormous. This year, Eritrea faced a crop loss of close to 90%, while Tigray's harvest fell to 25% of its normal subsistence level. Not only is fighting preventing the implementation of long-term measures designed to deal with the root causes of famine, but crops and livestock are being destroyed, and farmers must cultivate their fields at night because of the constant threat of bombing. In Ethiopia, too, the war causes hunger. Little development aid is given the small, domestic farmer; rather help is given to the farmers who produce coffee, the source of 60 to 70 percent of Ethiopia's export earnings, which are essential to a war economy. Of Ethiopia's 80 million hectares of agricultural land, only 12 million are used for crops; this is related not only to the government priorities for development, but to loss of manpower. The Ethiopian government requires all men between the ages of 16 and 35 years to serve two years in the army.

One of the most heart-wrenching costs of war is the displacement of people. An estimated one million of Eritrea's population of 3.5 million are refugees, and an additional 500,000 are thought to be internal refugees, displaced within their own region. Sudan, in 1985, was haven for over one million refugees, most of them from Tigray and Eritrea.

Attempts to deliver aid to starving people are severely hampered by war. The Ethiopian government has refused to grant safe passage to food convoys, and therefore food shipments must come in to the northern regions from neighbouring Sudan. Food convoys have been bombed several times by the Ethiopian air force; in recent months, truck convoys were attacked by the EPLF. (The Eritrean Relief Association claims that these convoys were accompanied by military personnel carrying fuel and missiles.) And in April 1988, the Ethiopian government ordered foreign aid workers out of Tigray and Eritrea for security reasons. Some observers, including David Gallagher of OXFAM Canada, suggest that the government wants to remove foreign observers from the embattled region before increasing its military activities.

Clearly, the hope for the end of famine in Ethiopia is not merely rain, but peace.

- Information from *The Horn of Africa: Conflict and Development*, Africa World Press, 1988, and background documents from the *Conflict and Development in the Horn of Africa* conference, April 1988, Hull, P.Q.

Group Interaction

Famous Quotes

a) "War is a biological necessity."
- General Friedrich A.J. von Bernhardi

b) "How vile and despicable seems war to me! I would rather be hacked in pieces than take part in such an abominable business. My opinion of the human race is high enough that I believe this bogey would have disappeared long ago, had the sound sense of the people not been systematically corrupted by commercial and political interests acting through the schools and the Press."
- Albert Einstein

c) "I am a man of peace. God knows how I love peace. But I hope I shall never be such a coward as to mistake oppression for peace." - Kossuth

d) "When women have a voice in national and international affairs, war will cease forever." - Augusta Stowe-Gullen

e) "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?" - Henry Kissinger, concerning the people of Micronesia

f) "A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching a spiritual death."
- Martin Luther King

g) "The world can either continue to pursue the arms race—or move consciously and with deliberate speed toward a more sustainable international economic and political order. It cannot do both." - Inga Thorson, Chairman of the Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development

h) "The consequences [of a nuclear attack] would be catastrophic . . . the only effective counter to such a threat is a strategy of deterrence based on the maintenance of diversified nuclear forces." - from *Challenge and Commitment*, Canada's White Paper on Defence

i) "The sword comes into the world from justice denied or too long delayed." - The Talmud

j) "The strength of the United States serves to protect the American people and helps preserve the peace. We need strength to deter attack, to support the cause of freedom, and to work for a peaceful world." - Caspar Weinberger

k) "It will be a great day when our schools get all the money they need and the air force has to hold a bake sale to buy a bomber." - Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. Sector

(Many of these quotes are taken from *Peace and Conflict in the Nuclear Age*, Ast (Regina: First Impressions, 1985)

Writing and Discussion

a) The two case studies—The Kwajalein Atoll and Ethiopia—both illustrate various causes and costs of militarization which are discussed in the articles *Missiles for Meals* (p. 1), *Why Militarism* (p. 2) and *Militarism: The Hidden Costs* (p. 3). Read the case studies, and analyse each in terms of major causes and costs. (You may see some causes or costs which aren't mentioned in the articles.) What are the similarities between the two cases? The differences?

b) Security—what does it mean? To Linus, in the cartoon strip *Peanuts*, security means a well-worn blanket. To a family in the Third World, security may mean a supply of seeds to plant for the next season. To some nations, security means a stockpile of nuclear weapons. What meaning does the word "security" have for you at a personal, national and world level? Is there a basic level of military spending which is necessary for national security? Does the present world order make you feel secure? If not, what changes would have to take place to bring about real security?

c) The poem "Arms" (p. 3) expresses, from the point of view of an impoverished Guatemalan, a view of the future which includes upheaval. Do you agree with the writer? What does this poem suggest about the security of armaments?

As a group, choose the two quotes you agree with most, and the two you disagree with most, and be prepared to defend your choice. What do the quotes you have chosen tell you about the assumptions of the people who said them?

Mapping:

Battlefields of '87: Twenty-two wars—more than in any previous year on record—were underway in 1987. The total death toll in these wars so far is 2,200,000 and rising fast. Mark these war areas on a map of the world, and maintain an on-going "Militarization Bulletin Board" in your classroom, to keep track of current developments in these conflicts. Try to analyze each in terms of causes and costs.

1987 Wars (Wars with annual deaths estimates at 1,000 or more)

Afghanistan	Iran/Iraq
Angola	Lebanon
Burma	Mozambique
Cambodia	Nicaragua
Chad	Peru
Colombia	Philippines
El Salvador	South Africa
Ethiopia	Sri Lanka
Guatemala	Sudan
India	Uganda
Indonesia	Vietnam

(From Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1987-88*)

What Can We Do?

"What can we do?" is a frequently asked question. In small groups, discuss what Canada's stance should be on the issue of militarization and underdevelopment. Then go on to the individual level; what is your personal stance? Brainstorm what can you do, personally, to work towards your vision. (Areas to consider: *Canada:* position in the United Nations, arms export policy, aid to developing nations, response to Third World debt
Individual: education, organization, consumer action, writing)

CLASS SIMULATION: What's Happening in the Philippines: An Analysis

Here's a scenario from the Philippines:

In the southern Philippines, a meeting is taking place in a small community. In the distance sprawls the vast pineapple plantation of a transnational corporation. The people at the meeting are listening to a young man tell how company agents bulldozed his land and prepared it for pineapple planting, while he stood by helplessly. His land was his source of livelihood; he does not know how he will support his family now. Far off in the capital city, government officials discuss how a recent purchase of helicopter gunships has exacerbated the country's foreign debt. A decision is made to encourage large corporations to increase exports as a way of improving the balance of payments.
(From *Missiles and Malnutrition*, E. Epp-Tiessen, Project Ploughshares)

There are a number of groups, both in the scene and just outside the scene, which must be considered in analyzing this situation:

The Landless Peasants (represented by the young man, and the people to whom he is speaking): You are becoming increasingly angry and desperate. For years you have been promised land reform, but the reality is that small farmers, who often don't have legal title to the land that their families have farmed for generations, are increasingly being displaced by large transnational companies which produce crops for export.

The Government: While some of you would like to institute land reform, you are faced with the problem of the rich landowners and their allies, the military. If you try to make changes to help the poor, you will probably be ousted by a military coup. Repression of the poor, through increasing the army and weapons, may be your safest bet if you want to save your own skin.

The Executives of the Transnational Companies: Land is cheap, labour is even cheaper; there are great profits to be made here. You look with disfavour at any attempts by the poor to organize and demand better pay or more land. Luckily, you have influence with the government, the rich landowners (who lease their land to you) and the military.

The Rich Landowners: Your family has owned huge tracts of land for many generations; you're not about to have your standard of living lowered by a bunch of peasants stirred up by communist agitators who are demanding pieces of your land, or workers demanding better pay. If the government gets soft on this, you fortunately have the ear of some of the generals in the army.

The Army: At the upper level, you come from rich, privileged families, and are ready to fight to guard their privileges against rebellious peasants, who you regard as "communist". In the ranks, you are poor young men who have had to choose between unemployment and being in the army. You don't like shooting into crowds of protesters, but you'll do it if you have to.

The International Bankers: International lending is profitable; the interest rates are high. You're glad to extend a loan.

The Analysis:

a) Divide the class into groups, each group taking one of the roles above. One person (teacher or student) should take the role of moderator.

b) Look at Figure I (Militarization and Underdevelopment, p. 2). Suppose that the landless peasants decide to march on the government to demand land reform. What will the response of each of the groups be? Decide as a group what your course of action should be. The moderator will ask each group to report. Based on the reactions of the different groups, try another round. Is the level of militarization increasing?

c) The search for a solution. How can the poverty-militarization cycle be broken? Still representing your groups, try, in a short mini-conference, to come up with some solutions and compromises.

Guns or Butter

The following figures represent world military and foreign economic aid expenditures from 1960 to 1986:

	Military Expenditures*	Foreign Economic Aid*
1960	345	5.1
1965	421	7.0
1970	523	8.6
1972	534	11.4
1974	551	17.4
1976	574	21.6
1978	597	29.8
1980	645	40.1
1982	708	37.4
1984	769	36.9
1986	825	46.4

(* in billion 1984 U.S. dollars)
- Sivard, *World Military and Social Expenditures 1987-88)*

In other words, in 1986, if you were to travel by road one meter for every $1 million spent on arms, you'd get from Vancouver to just beyond Prince George. If you started again from Vancouver and travelled a meter for every $1 million spent on foreign economic aid, however, your journey would be much shorter; you'd almost make it to Langley.

(Credit: Canadian Catholic Organization for Development and Peace)

RESOURCES

Audiovisual:

Children of War (25 min.): documents the "Youth for Peace and Justice" tour in which teenagers from war-torn countries toured secondary schools across Canada, conveying the horrors for young civilians living in very repressive, militarized countries. The young people featured are from Zimbabwe, Northern Ireland, Guatemala, East Timor and El Salvador. Available in VHS or 16 mm film from NFB.

Controlling the Arms Trade (30 min.): slide-tape documenting Canada's involvement in the arms industry, and human costs of the arms trade. (Project Ploughshares: $5 plus shipping—see below)

The Forgotten War (30 min.): recent film on the war in Eritrea. Two others in this series are *Songs of the Next Harvest*, focusing Eritrean attempts to achieve self-sufficiency, and *A Time to Heal*, on the Eritrean health system. Available in VHS or 16 mm film from NFB.

Nightmare in Paradise (20 min.): slide-tape exploring current nuclear and military issues in the Pacific. (South Pacific Peoples Foundation—$25 plus shipping—see below)

Pacific: Paradise in Pain (60 min.): video documenting the legacies of colonization and militarization in the South Pacific. (IDERA—$45 plus shipping—see below)

The Only Difference Between Men and Boys is the Price of Their Toys: Part II (50 min.): video exploring the effect of the arms trade on the Third World (IDERA—$40 plus shipping—see below)

Top Priority (9 min.): an animated film about the effects of military spending on a family of desert villagers. Excellent discussion starter. Available from the NFB (106C 0183 061), or in video format from PEMC ($10 for 1/2").

Print:

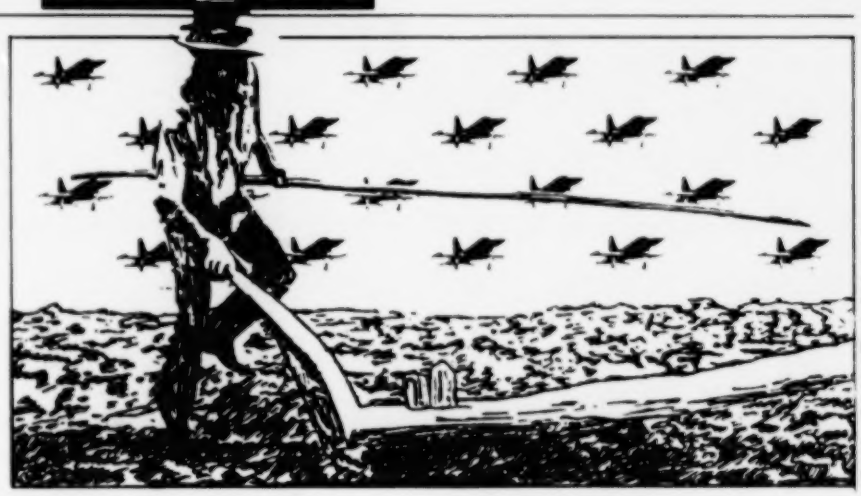
Ploughshares Monitor, a quarterly newsletter on disarmament and development, gives an excellent Canadian perspective on this issue. From Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario, N2L 3G6 ($20/yr.)

World Military and Social Expenditures 1987-88, by Ruth Leger Sivard, is an excellent, up-to-the-moment resource. Available in B.C. from Project Ploughshares (see below), $8 plus $1.50 postage.

Organizations

The following B.C. organizations all offer additional resources—print, audio-visual, speakers—on militarism and development:

Canadian Catholic Organization for Development & Peace
150 Robson Street,
Vancouver, B.C. V6B 2A7
683-0281 (loc. 256)



(Credit: Project Ploughshares)

East Timor Alert Network
Box 354
Ladysmith, B.C. V0R 2E0
245-3068

Global Village (Nanaimo)
101 - 259 Pine Street
Nanaimo, B.C. V9R 2B7
753-3322

Hope International Development Agency
210 - 6th Street
New Westminster, B.C. V3L 3A2
525-5481

IDERA
2524 Cypress Street
Vancouver, B.C. V6J 3N2
738-8815 (AV rental)
732-1496 (other)

Kootenay Centre for a Sustainable Future
Box 727
Nelson, B.C. V1L 5R4
354-4035

Mennonite Central Committee
P.O. Box 2038
Clearbrook, B.C. V2T 3T8
859-4141

Northwest Development Education
Box 207
Terrace, B.C. V8G 4A6
635-2436

OXFAM CANADA
2524 Cypress Street
Vancouver, B.C. V6J 3N2
736-7678

OXFAM CANADA Vancouver Island Outreach Project
314 - 1020 McKenzie Avenue
Victoria, B.C. V8X 3Y1
727-0220

Project Ploughshares
3821 Lister Street
Burnaby, B.C. V5G 2B9
433-6583

Red Cross (Vancouver)
Susan Soux
4750 Oak Street
Vancouver, B.C. V6H 3N9
879-7551

South Pacific Peoples Foundation
409 - 620 View Street
Victoria, B.C. V8W 1J6
381-4131

United Nations Association (Vancouver)
2524 Cypress Street,
Vancouver, B.C. V6J 3N2
733-3912

United Nations Association (Victoria)
218 - 835 Humboldt Street
Victoria, B.C. V8V 4W8
383-4635

VIDEA
407 - 620 View Street
Victoria, B.C. V8W 1J6
385-2333

Teachergram

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